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ABSTRACT

Preliminary findings from two studies in progress on women and visible minorities in Canadian public and educational administration are presented in this paper, which focuses on the impact of tokenism resulting from differential expectations and their influence on the organizational socialization of managers. Primary data were derived from semistructured interviews, or career histories, with 20 white and minority male and female middle managers in public administration and education. Their experiences and perceptions of opportunities for advancement are described. Findings suggest that differences exist in the ways in which males and women and minorities experience organizational life, and that these differences may significantly impact career outcomes. Responses tend to support the view that women and minorities are seen as tokens and are treated differently from white males. Racism/discrimination was not perceived as such by those managers who have successfully advanced. A recommendation is that employment equity and affirmative action must not be viewed as women's or minorities' issues. Two figures are included. (79 references) (LMI)

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VISIBLE MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: A REPORT OF RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Fourth National Conference of the
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Ottawa, November 1990.

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PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH IN PROGRESS, PLEASE DO NOT CITE WITHOUT AUTHORS' PERMISSION

*On educational leave from the Department of the Secretary of State. The views expressed are those of the individual and not necessarily those of her employer.

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INTRODUCTION

Until very recently those holding positions at the administrative or management level of educational organizations in Canada were almost always white and male. Women and visible minorities were rarely seen in these positions. As the numbers of visible minority and women managers increase, so does the interest of both social scientists and policy makers in how they experience organizational life. This paper reports on two studies in progress which examine some of the issues related to this question. The paper begins with a review of literature related to the topic. The second section gives a picture of how visible minority and women participants in this study, who hold middle management positions in educational institutions, experience organizational life. The third section examines how they perceive their opportunities for advancement and the final section looks at possible implications of these studies for future research on the impact of race and gender on organizations and individual careers.

This paper does not attempt to equate the experiences of white women and visible minority men and women. Clearly there are differences in their experiences and these differences are important ones in terms of career outcomes. As Fernandez (1981) writes, the discrimination encountered by each group differs in kind and degree. There are, however, similarities in their experiences, as this study suggests, and these need to be looked at if the barriers common to newcomers to the organizational life of educational institutions are to be more fully understood. Until a better understanding of these barriers is gained these groups will continue to exist, to varying degrees, as outsiders to the mainstream of organizational life.

It is also worth noting at this point that there are ideological choices to be made by everyone when equity issues are involved. One has the choice of supporting maintenance of the status quo in terms of traditional, the "white male as norm", ways of doing things, of changing existing structures from within through a more evolutionary approach, or of a more revolutionary restructuring of existing institutions. While proponents of the first view promote the view that outsiders need only model themselves after the white males who have made it, and proponents of the latter view will argue that they do not want to become part of the "mainstream", saying they want to "make another stream" (Associated Press, 1990), this paper assumes that the most feasible approach at this time is a change from within which is more evolutionary than revolutionary. That is, newcomers conform enough to get into the

organization and work to inside to bring about change since change is easier for outsiders to achieve from the inside.

Twenty years after the publication of the Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) and six years after Equality Now! (1984), many of the predictions and recommendations of those reports regarding women's and minorities' eventual participation in leadership roles in Canadian society have yet to be realized. A particular area of concern is that of the senior levels of organizational management. Florence Bird (Personal communication, March 14, 1990), Chair of the Royal Commission, says that 20 years ago members of the Commission assumed that the question of women in leadership would no longer be an issue in 1990 and that affirmative action would no longer be needed. According to her, it was assumed that once women reached middle-level management positions they would routinely move up to the senior levels of organizational management. This has not happened. While women are increasingly visible in the management of organizational life, they are concentrated at the bottom of the management category in all organizations, even those in which they have long been numerically dominant such as banking, public administration, health services, and education. The proportion of women and racial minorities who hold senior management positions which were not inherited is still extremely small. Available statistics on women in the management of key institutions in Canadian society such as banking, universities, school systems, and government demonstrate that only modest progress has been made over the past 20 years. Women constitute a minority of university presidents (7%); members of the federal Cabinet (average of 12-15% since 1988); upper level executives in banking (9.2%); executive level managers in the federal government (10%), and the Senate of Canada (13.4%) (Poole, 1989; Statistics Canada 1989, 1990; Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990). Statistics on visible minority participation in organizational management are more difficult to obtain but what exist suggest that their situation is even worse than that of women (Equality Now!, 1984; Pugliese, 1990).

Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkison (1986) write that "occupations, industries, and organizations have exhibited patterns of racial and sexual stratification that have persisted historically" (p.111) and that studies of organizations have virtually ignored this fact. As Ball (1987) points out, while relatively little is known about the employment experiences of women educators and the dynamics of gender in schools, even less is known about the employment experiences of educators from racial and ethnic groups.

In recent years there has been an increase in awareness that women and racial minorities in organizations have been given different opportunities from those provided their white male colleagues. This awareness is evidenced by the generation of studies and policies by organizations such as the Public Service of Canada and educational systems across Canada (Morgan, 1988; Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990; Rees, 1990). According to the literature (Hall, 1976), a key period in a worker's career is the time early in that career when socialization to the norms and values of that organization is experienced. Little comparative work has been done on the actual organizational socialization experienced by white males, women, and racial minorities. Recent research suggests that their experiences may differ significantly and that those differences may be gender and race related. While women and visible minority employees clearly encounter barriers to management, visible minority women may be doubly challenged by the combination of barriers of both gender and race (Korah, 1990, p.7).

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The theoretical framework for the study emerges from the sociology of Georg Simmel and the concepts of organizational socialization (Ortiz, 1982; Pfeffer, 1982); and tokenism (Kanter, 1977a). This study examines the effect of organizational socialization on the careers of middle managers in education. There have been few attempts to operationalize and empirically test these ideas, probably due in part to the difficulty of finding sufficient numbers of women and visible minority managers in organizational positions similar to those held by white males to make such studies possible. The prevailing management models have tended to define appropriate management behavior narrowly and anything that differed from that as deficient. Thus, for example, the collegial leadership model promoted by some feminists may be negatively evaluated as an abdication of leadership rather than as representing a different but legitimate way of leading.

Perspectives on Underrepresentation:

A review of the research on management or leadership identifies a number of perspectives which are used to explain the underrepresentation of racial minorities and women. A large body of research exists which suggests that white males and others behave differently in the manager role and that those reported differences are often used to justify the underrepresentation of these others in management positions. Most

explanations for the underrepresentation of women and racial minorities fall into one of three main categories which involve a psychological perspective which holds that particular traits are gender or culture linked and that there is little potential for change, a sociological perspective which sees differential early socialization as accounting for underrepresentation, or a structuralist perspective which sees features of organizations as limiting equity for some groups. It is important to understand "the power of the paradigm", that is, the difficulties and limitations created by the interpretative framework one uses to define the problem (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.176; Patel, 1980, p.33). Explanations of problems and resolutions to those problems are dictated by the perspective or framework seen to be the causal centre. A psychological focus, locating the causal centre in the individual, will suggest the need for programs designed to change certain individual characteristics or behaviors. Assertiveness training for women or members of some minority groups is one example of this. The sociological perspective, locating the causal centre in impersonal social forces, suggests the need for changes in processes such as early or primary socialization. The structuralist perspective, locating the causal centre in social structures and institutions, suggests a focus on those features of organizations which limit the access to and upward mobility of certain groups of people.

The psychological perspective has lost considerable ground in recent years and it has gradually become clear that there are theoretical and practical problems which a solely sociological perspective does not explain (Adkison, 1981). This has led to a greater focus on the structuralist perspective which explains the underrepresentation of women and minorities as the result of institutional patterns in training, hiring, etc., that favour the promotion of white males over women and minorities (Adkison, 1981; Kanter, 1977a). According to this view, women and minorities do not get the same support, opportunity or experience that men get. Male corporate managers in one study admit to preferring males who are a "known quantity" over females who they see as "unpredictable and incomprehensible" (Lyman and Speizer, 1980). Unfamiliarity with the culture of the organization may make it difficult for some minorities to express non-work related compliance in terms of dress, inter-personal relations and other "aspects of presentation of self", which may be a key criteria for success (Greene, 1977). As highly visible "outsiders on the inside", there is likely to be a narrower band of acceptable behavior for women and minorities in management and when they stray outside that band the corporate memory is long. Ortiz (1982) identifies the importance of anticipatory socialization, which strategies such as job shadowing can provide, in helping women and minorities understand the organizational

culture, particularly the unwritten rules of the organization. (Hennig and Jardim, 1977 Cava, 1988).

One might conceptualize the fundamental difference between the primary socialization model referred to earlier and the organizational socialization perspective posited in this study as illustrated in Figure I. The first, the traditional view, represents the deficiency or "blame-the-victim" school of thought. This view, which is increasingly being challenged, tends to see institutions as passive and neutral and to suggest that any barriers experienced by workers are the result of their own deficiencies. The second more contemporary perspective begins with "new institutionalism" (Hansot and Tyack, 1988) which sees institutions as actors in their own right and not simply as the sum of outside forces or their members, and incorporates the view that differences in career outcomes are best explained in terms of differential access to organizational socialization. The latter view is in line with the Kanter (1977a) position that what an individual brings into the organization is considerably influenced by such institutional factors as training, orientation, and workplace organization. In applying this second view to the situation of women, Marshall and Mitchell (1989) describe it as an approach, which rather than focusing on women as deficient, "examines the administrative culture and asks 'What's wrong with this culture ... how does it create this deficiency by which the talent and perspectives of women are sacrificed'?"(p.3). They acknowledge that this is a deficiency model, as well, but they point out that this one focuses on "the deficiency of the organizational culture" not on the deficiency of women.

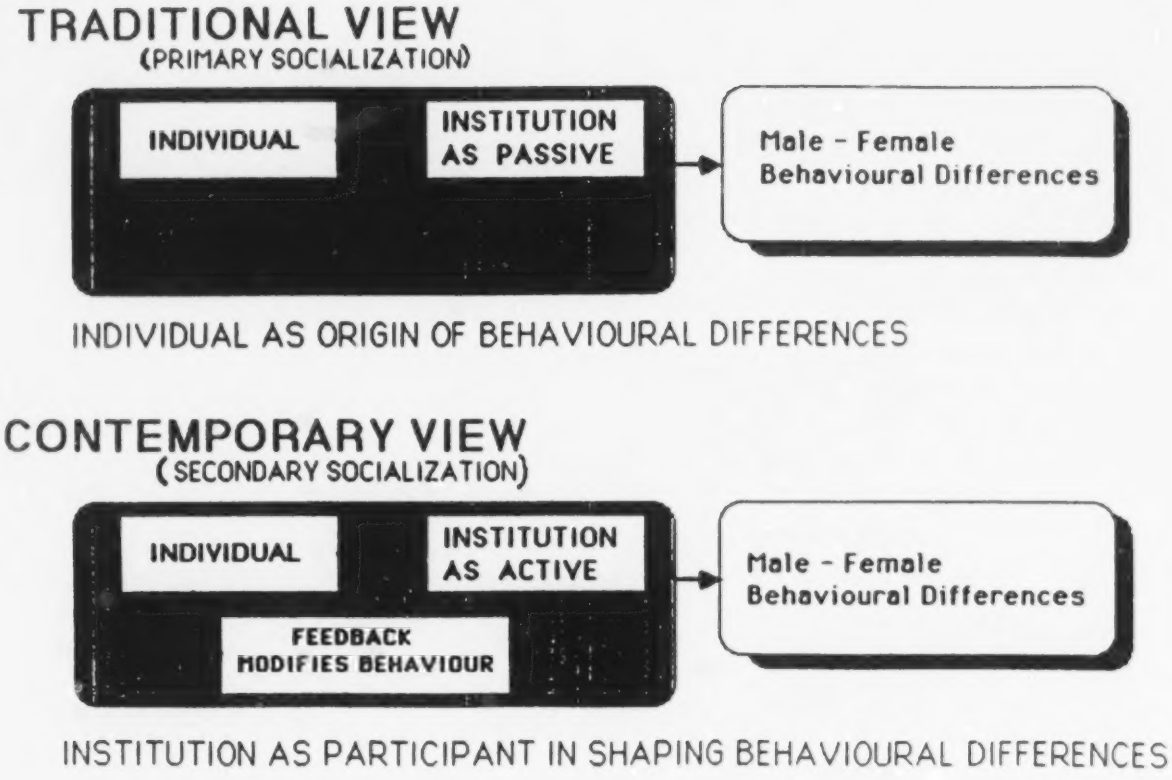

Fig. I: Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives

Simmel:

The 1960s saw a renewal of interest in the work of Georg Simmel, perhaps, because his work related to marginality and his empathy for the situation of women in society was in line with issues popular at that time. Simmel (1902), particularly in his analysis of the significance of numbers in social life, provides the intellectual roots for the framework (Figure II) developed by Kanter to explain outsider status in organizations. According to Kanter (1977b), the failure of researchers to examine the impact of "relative numbers, of proportion of interacting social types" on the social life or behavior within these groups leads to "inappropriate or misleading conclusions" (p.965). She argues that "groups with varying proportions of people of different social types differ qualitatively in dynamics and process" (pp.965-966).

While some perceive leadership as involving innate skills or talents, Simmel is among those who see leadership as a product of situational conditions within a group or society. Theorists holding this perspective consider leadership to be a way of behaving which is derived from the leader's relationship to others in a particular group rather than as a set of properties unique to that individual. Thus the leader is, in part, granted powers by his or her followers and evolves within the structural organization of the group.

Token Status:

The work of Kanter (1977a) represents a major breakthrough in understanding the experience of women and minorities in organizations. Kanter, began a five year ethnographic study of a large American corporation assuming that differences between men and women which she and others had observed were gender-based. Gradually she became convinced that these differences were not simply gender-based, but rather, that they were the result of organizational structures which provide different organizational responses to those who are different from the white males who have long dominated organizational life. People who are different, she concludes, assume a token status because of their numerical minority status, newness to the organization or their visible difference from the majority. As tokens they are not treated as individuals but as representatives of their type (women, blacks, etc.). This differential organizational response determines access to opportunity structures and better explains difference than does gender she concluded. As Kanter notes, it has been difficult to test this perspective empirically

since, until recently, there have been few women managers holding positions in work organizations similar to those held by white males. As already noted, there have been even fewer visible minority managers to be studied.

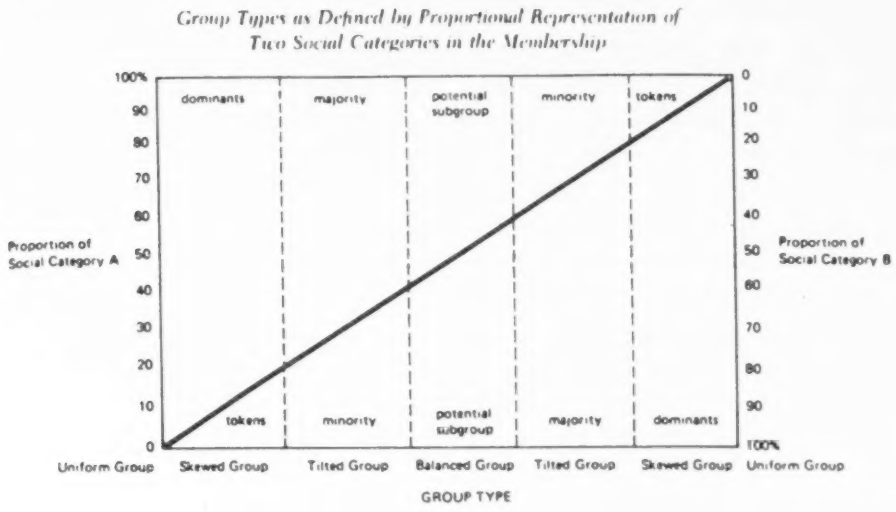

Figure II: Structure Determines Process Framework (Kanter, 1977a, p.209)

Drawing on Simmel's assumption "that form determines process, narrowing the universe of interaction possibilities", Kanter (1977b) argues that the "form of a group with a skewed distribution of social types generates certain perceptions of the tokens by the dominants" and that those perceptions determine the interaction dynamics between tokens and dominants creating the "pressures dominants impose on tokens." Tokens, she says, are found in skewed groups, groups which have a "large preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15" and have typical responses to these pressures. (p.971).

For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that visible minorities and women in the management role share the experience of minorities in the skewed group. According to Kanter, numerically dominant types control the group and its culture. Members of visible minority groups or women are numerically in a minority, hence "tokens" and, she says, will be "treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals". (p.966). Studies of male-female interactions and the experiences of minorities in organizations have been macroscopic, locating studies "in broad cultural traditions and the sexual division of labor in

society", or microscopic, locating studies "in the psychology of men and women whether based on biology or socialization." (p.967). Kanter argues in favour of an intermediate-level of analysis, "how group structures shape interaction contexts and influence particular patterns of male-female interaction", can contribute more to enlarging understanding of the subject at this point in history.

Kanter uses the term "token" to describe the person who is alone or nearly alone in a peer group rather than "solo", "solitary", or "lone" because she sees such persons as having special characteristics associated with their status. The rarity of their type in the group puts tokens in the position of representing their ascribed category to the group whether they want to or not. Thus, they will be "hyphenated members" of the group , e.g. woman-engineer, black-doctor (p.967). She says that the term token "reflects one's status as a symbol of one's kind" In her view, lone people will not function as tokens if their presence is taken for granted in the group and they are incorporated into the dominant culture.

A number of writers have discussed the impact of tokenism. Bancroft, Wills and DePass (1988), in their study of the civic participation of visible minorities, say that in terms of appointments to boards and commissions there is an "assumption that minority persons are interested in appointments only in the field of human rights, immigration, social assistance, etc." (p.2). Moses (1989), in describing the experience of black women in higher education, refers to the "token syndrome". In higher education as in society, she says, the numerically dominant group controls the organization and its culture and the smaller number of people from other groups tend to be seen as tokens, as representatives of their group rather than as individuals. Thus, racial minorities may be expected to sit on committees as experts on race relations rather than as experts in their field or discipline. There are few career rewards for such work and it can marginalize minorities in the process of building a career. There has been speculation that this factor explains the failure of most racial minorities and women in race relations and gender equity positions to have moved up the organizational hierarchy. Moses also discusses tokenism in terms of the expectation that black students will be experts on black issues and race relations and will be expected to be spokespersons for the entire black race. Women, too, may be expected to fulfill a similar role for their group. In addition to the difficulty of being seen as a representative of a group rather than as an individual, Fernandez (1981) points out that "as tokens, every action is performed under the critical scrutiny of nontokens" (p.96). Asplund (1988) describes this heightened visibility as "the spotlight effect".

Korman (1988) deals with minority status from an insider-outsider perspective. He describes insiders as people perceived to be like the majority and liked because they think as the majority does. Believing this, they are perceived to be more predictable and understandable, and easier to anticipate and to work with. Thus they create less anxiety in those around them. He says that outsiders are viewed in the opposite way. Being less predictable, they make the majority feel more anxious, and thus "less desirable and less virtuous". Because of this they are less accepted and liked less over time. The behaviors of outsiders are perceived negatively and those of the insider group positively. From his perspective visible minorities and women qualify as outsiders and white males as insiders. His description suggests reasons for the differential response to outsiders or tokens.

A number of writers, including Lippman (1922) and Greene (1977), describe this process as an attempt to bring order to a complex world, a process people resort to because reducing things to stereotypes and going with the familiar reduces uncertainty and tension in a complex and rapidly changing work world. Dalton (1959), in his classic study of male managers, provides examples of this process at work in his description of the tendency of managers to recruit people like themselves. Barnard (1968), one of the fathers of management theory in North America, considers "associational attractiveness as exceedingly, and often critically, important" (p.146). By "associational attractiveness", Barnard means social compatibility. He maintains that if homogeneity of race, class, religion, education, customs, and the like is missing in an organization, "(m)en often will not work at all, and will rarely work well" (pp.146-7). While one may dismiss such views as simply reflecting the workplace reality of the time, they probably had an influence on shaping societal expectations of the ideal manager. Packard (1962) suggests that such thinking helped to establish white Protestant males as the in-group and gatekeepers to management in most large North American institutions (pp.39-40).

There are grounds for challenging the homogeneity of the work force view which Barnard seems to promote. While marginality tends to be seen more often as a negative factor, Park (1967), in fact, sees the potentially positive contribution of people who, not having been indoctrinated in the traditional values of an organization, can bring new and innovative perspectives to organizational life. Aoki (1983) describes the advantages of "one who lives at the margin - to one who lives in a tension situation. It is", he says, "a condition that makes possible deeper understanding of human

acts that can transform both self and world, not in an instrumental way, but in a human way" (p.325).

Organizational Socialization:

Schein (1977) describes organizational socialization as the process of "learning the ropes" or of "being taught what is important in an organization or some subunit thereof" (p.211). Lortie (1975) describes socialization as a "subjective process . . . that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the subculture of the group" (p.61). According to Pfeffer (1982), organizational socialization represents "the internalization of external control" (p.82) and "is a process typically thought of as occurring at the time of organizational entry" (p.96). Barnard (1968) describes it as "(l)earning the organizational ropes" which, he says, chiefly involves "learning who's who, what's what, why's why, of its informal society" (p.121). Jarvis (1983), who defines socialization as "the process by which the objective world of reality is internalised and becomes subjectively meaningful" (p.88), says that the socialization whereby one learns the role behaviors particular to one's occupation is "an element of the hidden curriculum in professional education" (p.88). Etzioni (1961) writes that "the study of organizational socialization is concerned with the processes by which the beliefs, norms, and perspectives of the participant are brought into line with those of the organization" (p.142).

A number of writers note the importance of timing, of being identified early in one's career as having the potential to excel. Becker and Strauss (1956) say that the critical passage in some careers lies near the beginning (p.260-1). Feldman (1976, 1981) supports the "success spiral syndrome" posited by Hall (1976) and Schein (1978), that is, that early career success generates both opportunities and the desire to be more successful (1981, p.313). According to Feldman (1981), "employees who are succeeding at their jobs are more likely to be given opportunities to learn new tasks and skills and to be allowed to pass on unwanted or less challenging tasks to others" (p.313). According to Sayles (1979), "power begets power" (pp.101-102), building in a spiral. Battles won, he says, give one higher status and power, which gains more respect and eventually even higher status and power. Becker and Strauss (1956) contend that "certain positions preclude the acquiring of certain skills or information, but others foster it. Job assignments can freeze one at a given level or serve to move him (sic) upward faster and a sponsor who is able to anticipate certain organizational needs can arrange for an employee to gain experience critical to upward mobility" (p.256). According to Pfeffer,

newcomers to an organization are likely to be less sure about appropriate ways of doing things, so will be most receptive to the various forms of influence that are designed to produce in its members "an understanding and internalization of the organization's culture, way of doing things, and decision-making style" (p.96). This literature suggests that access to high profile or visible assignments may be particularly valuable early in one's career in order to get ahead of one's peers. It may also suggest that mid-career affirmative action programs for minorities and women may offer too little, too late.

McBroom (1986) writes that each profession can be seen as a subculture of American life with its own values, beliefs and practices which provide different experiences for its members (p.7-8). It appears to be particularly difficult for women to advance in the fields of banking and finance, for example. According to a female banker (Fife, 1989) the slow progress of women may relate to their under-representation in career-broadening training programs such as management-development courses and their overrepresentation in training programs for specialties that offer limited opportunity for advancement (e.g. loans officer). A number of writers (Ortiz, 1982; Cava, 1988; Peitchinis, 1989) note the importance of type of training and first job assignment to upward mobility in organizations. According to Peitchinis (1989), women face less discrimination at the entry level, but once inside the organization they are too often not given the type of work assignments that would provide them with the experience necessary for advancement. Ortiz (1982) documents the existence of the same type of problems for women and minorities in educational organizations where white male teachers get "plum" committee assignments and access to information and power networks which provide them with the visibility and experience necessary for advancement, while women and minorities who express interest in advancement are criticized for not being interested enough in teaching. Interestingly, access for women and other minorities to management development courses is a key feature of equity efforts within the federal public service of Canada.

Support for the view that all employees do not have the same access to organizational socialization is provided by a number of studies which report that supervisors (Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982; Korman, 1988; Ortiz and Marshall, 1988) and instructors or academic colleagues (Trujillo, 1986; Moses, 1989; Frierson, 1990) often have different expectations of minorities and women than they have of white males and that they interact differently with them. The result may be that they push or challenge minorities and women to succeed less than they do white males, spend less time interacting with them and respond less fully to questions from

minorities and women than they do to men. Ortiz (1982) reports that supervisors do not inspire women and minorities to try new challenges, such as considering a career in administration, and Trujillo reports professors exhibiting a similar failure to inspire minorities. Shakeshaft (1987) reports that male managers are reluctant to provide women with critical feedback about the quality of their work, in effect denying them knowledge that will help them correct deficiencies in their performance. The importance of such feedback is highlighted by Hall and Hall (1976) who suggest that consideration and structure from a leader is of considerable help to an employee seeking to translate desires and goals into satisfaction and success. In high support organizations they say, the path from personal goals to success and satisfaction is "clearer and more under the person's control than it is in a less supportive organization" (p.277). Asplund (1988) addresses the issue of clarity of path from goal to success, suggesting that education and public administration represent organizations which provide particularly clear paths to success, presumably making it easier to see and follow the path up the hierarchy.

Some research on women and visible minorities examines the interplay between gender and race. Existing research seems to suggest that visible minorities and women are at a considerable disadvantage in their efforts to ascend the educational hierarchy. According to Adkison (1981) there is even a possibility that gender is a greater disadvantage than membership in a minority racial group. Adkison reports that a national survey of women educators in management positions conducted in the United States concluded that race is less significant as an informal selection criteria than is gender. Doughty (1980) who conducted a study of black administrators, reports that black women were more likely to hold consultant, elementary principalship or administrative assistant positions while black males almost exclusively held secondary principalship and central office line positions. Line positions are critical to advancement since they provide opportunities for engaging in "activities which develop technical skills, such as personnel administration" (Ortiz, 1982). Ortiz concludes that educational organizations do not try in an equitable way to prepare white men, women and minorities to become organizational leaders. According to Cava (1988), line or operational jobs involving production of goods or services or the selling of them, lead more often to promotion. Staff or service jobs (e.g. billing, legal, public relations, etc.), on the other hand, are seen as costing companies money to maintain, seldom involve policy decisions, and are the first to be cut back in times of financial restraint.

In both Canada and the United States it appears that ethnic minorities tend to be defined as ethnic specialists and assigned as race relations or multicultural consultants. Those who attain principalships often do so in schools where there are large concentrations of ethnic minority students. Perceived specialists on minority issues, they are excluded from many organizational activities with access to mainstream informational and power networks unless these are seen to relate very directly to minority issues.

Among those who have conducted empirical studies of professional or organizational socialization are Becker and Strauss (1956), Ortiz (1972), and Marshall (1979a,b). Kanter (1977a) focuses attention on organizational socialization when she concludes that one's position in an organization has a greater impact on opportunity and mobility than primary socialization and other background factors. According to her, assignments which offer visibility and variety as opposed to anonymity and routine, position one for opportunities and success. She appears to agree with others who stress the critical importance of early career assignments (Feldman, 1981)

Since the mid-1970s, there has been increasing interest in the institutional barriers which minorities and women experience in organizations. The terminology used varies (i.e., token, outsiders) but there is a common thread of meaning running through this work. Kanter (1977a) who documents the experiences of men, women, in a corporation and Ortiz (1982) who looks at minorities and in education systems, conclude that institutional response results in a more limited opportunity for minorities and women to succeed. The Kanter study suggests that an individual's location and experience in the work organization has more impact on competence and productivity than his or her background or primary socialization. Both Kanter and Ortiz argue that organizations track men, women, and minorities differently. According to Ortiz, the educational organization "prepares white males to administer and manage adults, women to instruct children, and minorities to direct and contain other minorities". In this manner, she says, the organization fails "to socialize women and minorities so that they have an equal opportunity to attain the top position in educational administration"(p.147).

Gould and Penley (1984) point out that there is a significant body of literature on career strategies or career "mobility", as they term it. In light of the work done by Ortiz, it seems possible that many of the career strategies described in the literature which have been successful for white males may not work equally well for members of other groups. Such research should encourage us to re-examine the advice and training offered minorities who want to succeed in organizations. Ortiz, for example, reports that principals she studied tended to

look favourably on white male teachers who expressed interest in an administrative career while women teachers were penalized for expressing such interest. Principals provided white males aspiring to administrative careers with experiences necessary to their learning about administration and to developing networks such as task force or special committee assignments. Clearly these informal organizational socialization aspects of building a career need to be examined more closely. The research by Kanter and Ortiz challenges the view that the problems encountered by women and minorities attempting to build careers rest with the individual, that women and minorities need simply to learn to fit in. It seems clear that even if they are prepared to try, they are denied the opportunities to do so fully and it appears that they do not get the experiences early in their work lives which would enable them to do so.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that women and minorities are often naive about how organizations really operate. This is particularly true of the informal side of organizational life which they rarely get to witness. They tend to assume that everyone plays by the rules or that there is one set of rules. As Fernandez (1981) describes it, at the higher levels of organizational life important interactions "are characterized by a high degree of informality, much of it in a clublike context" (e.g. lunch, athletic events, social activities). In these informal settings individuals can "test ideas, gain important, at times secret, information ahead of time, and obtain support or the right contact to move ahead successfully". He sees the informal system as being at the heart of middle management functioning and as even more critical as one moves up the hierarchy. He describes women and minorities as finding exclusion more painful and more apparent as they move up in the organization. They may start their careers believing that ability and work performance will get them into the informal insiders networks, but they gradually come to recognize that admission to the insiders club requires total conformity. But race and gender, as he points out, are unalterable (pp.55-56).

Both women and racial minorities appear to need what Goldner, Ference and Ritti (1977) refer to as "cynical knowledge", the knowledge and understanding of the decision processes and rules of the game operating in organizations, as well as political skills. Pfeffer says that an ideology of cooperative effort, goal maximization, and working together in the organizational interests tends to work against one's discovery and use of such knowledge, knowledge which tends to relate more to the informal side or "soft underbelly" (Mintzberg, 1989) of organizational life. Recent research suggests that women are more likely than men to possess an ideology of collegiality and cooperation (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Neuse, 1978; Shakeshaft, 1987; Bell and Chase, 1989) and that women do not

understand the informal side of organizational life as well as men do (Hennig and Jardim). Gilligan (1982) views men and women as perceiving and experiencing reality differently. According to her, men develop in ways that stress separation, achievement and competition while women's development stresses relationships, attachment and cooperation.

Gibb-Clark (1990), reporting on research by Burke (1990), writes that recent Canadian research on visible minority managers in business suggests that they are "sometimes penalized more for mistakes, excluded from formal networks in their offices, and subjected to sometimes subtle forces that make it difficult for them to feel accepted or optimistic" (p.B6). She reports that they may be "excluded from career assistance, from key projects, or from such social functions as routine lunch invitations". Like women, the burden of a combination of "micro-inequities" (Bogart, 1990) may force them to career plateau at the mid-management level or to choose a more entrepreneurial route to career success through small business. According to Gibb-Clark, racial minorities report less job satisfaction and acceptance than their white peers. There is, she says, less job satisfaction in workplaces where peers and superiors resist the presence of minorities. A particularly interesting finding is that "(w)hite managers in companies where they feel minorities are getting a bad deal are themselves less satisfied with their work" (p.B6). In terms of what Barnard (1968) has to say about a productive workplace this finding suggests that injustice, real or perceived, is likely to have an impact on production as well as careers, making it imperative that organizations take racism and sexism more seriously for the good of the organization, as well as for the individuals involved.

This paper focuses on the impact of tokenism resulting from differential expectations and influence on the organizational socialization of managers. According to this view, women and minorities as newcomers to the management level of work organizations exist as tokens or outsiders to the "shadow structure" behind the organization chart (Kanter, 1977a). A number of researchers (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982; Asplund, 1988) whose work involves empirical research suggest that this failure of outsider groups to understand and to be a part of the informal side of organizational life best explains the differences in career outcomes between white males and members of other groups. In summary then, research suggests that as tokens visible minorities and women may not have access to the same range of organizational socialization experiences as do white males. Such experiences could equip them to better understand the informal side of organizational life where critical information exchange and the formation of alliances take place.

The variables selected for examination in this study are drawn from related research on organizational socialization.

METHODOLOGY

The results reported in this paper are preliminary and come from two studies in progress involving white and visible minority male and female middle managers in public administration and education. These studies utilize semi-structured interviews as the primary data source for an examination of the career histories of the managers being studied. The interviews which take from one and a half to two hours to complete cover early career experiences, biographical information, and views on mentoring, professionalism, management styles, and opportunities in contemporary organizations. The interview guide was developed from the literature review as well as discussions with a number of researchers who have completed similar studies in recent years. So far 20 individual interviews have been completed. Data from focus groups (Krueger, 1988), journal notes, and individual interviews with "elites" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989) are being used to supplement individual interviews. Standard qualitative methods for the analysis of long interviews (McCracken, 1988) and focus groups (Krueger) are being utilized. The conceptual framework which guides the analysis utilizes a structural perspective in that it explores possible linkages between variables relating to token status, organizational socialization, and lateral or upward career mobility.

It is important to remember that neither women nor visible minorities represent homogeneous groups. The experiences and perceptions of individuals in each group will vary depending on their individual histories. In spite of these differences, however, they share certain experiences as managers. These common experiences are the product of the organizational response to them, which has the effect of blocking their career development. This paper attempts to examine interviewees' perceptions of the impact these have on career outcomes.

HOW WOMEN AND VISIBLE MINORITIES EXPERIENCE ORGANIZATIONS

In this section of the paper, the range and frequency of organizational socialization experiences will be examined. Judging from the research literature, one might expect to find that women and minorities will have fewer and a narrower range of such experiences. If

this appears to be the case, what is their means of coping with unequal access to socialization? Marshall (1979) reports that the women administrators she studied developed alternative means of acquiring the knowledge and other things that socialization could have provided.

A number of writers discuss the importance of visibility (Kanter, 1977a, 80; 1981; Ortiz, 1982). The literature suggests that there is both a positive and a negative side to visibility. On the negative side, there is a narrower band of acceptable behavior for women and minorities in organizations and when they stray outside it, the corporate memory is long. A number of those interviewed describe feeling as if they work under a microscope. Tokens can expect their behavior to be scrutinized much more closely than those who are numerical dominants in the workplace. Kanter (1981) suggests that people in token positions will fear visibility, but that is not evident among the people interviewed so far. Their descriptions of their early career experiences suggest that they were aware of the need to, as Ortiz (1982) puts it, GAS or "get the attention of your superior". As one visible minority woman says, "Join organizations, get your name known". Most interviewees were also convinced that community visibility, in education at least, was important to upward mobility. Their awareness of the necessity for visibility but the need as "outsiders" to avoid being perceived as self-serving or arrogant was striking. A visible minority female describes coming to the attention of a trustee who later became important to her career; "It was because I was president of the (a professional association). . . One of the trustees happened to see me in action and she was one of those who had recommended me. Being involved, . . .I think it's very important. . . "

Both men and women describe ways in which early career assignments gave them greater visibility than their peers. Among these were being the first in a newly created position, designing and piloting a new program such as new math or French immersion, or high profile assignments with teacher organizations. It is, perhaps, worth noting that a number report having been involved in French language programs early in their careers.

Some see the major barriers to upward mobility as existing at the entry level, as the following excerpt from an interview with a visible minority female illustrates; "But then once I was in, I found that they really don't look at people as Chinese, or Japanese or Fijian. Once you are in the group, you are just people." and that it's mainly when you are on the threshold of something. It's more the attitude, or the perception of me personally, you know, on the threshold so it's hard to get into something

when they look at me as a (member of an ethnic group) and do not give me a job. But, once I got in (in the group) I did not have any problem". While Peitchinis (1989), like many other writers already discussed, sees the major barriers for women as being beyond entry level this woman clearly seems to disagree.

Isolation remains one of the major problems for both women and visible minority managers. As one woman interviewed says, "Being a principal is very lonely for a woman". Having fewer people with whom to discuss and work through problems limits one's ability to improve problem solving and decision making skills. Women and visible minorities become accustomed to not being included in work related social events or being included but reminded in various ways that they are really outsiders. One visible minority male describes how his new colleagues used in-jokes and discussion of sports and social experiences they had in common in a way designed to exclude him. Another comments on the fact that he has never been invited to the home of any of his bosses. This limited participation in the social side of work relations results in a more limited access to opportunities to learn aspects of the "presentation of self" as described by Greene (1977). Moses (1989) reports that black students are less likely to be invited to the home of their advisors and black professors are less likely to be invited to lunch by their white colleagues (p.11). Frierson (1990) points out that minority graduate students are less likely to get access to experiences important to a career in teaching and research, including membership on research project teams, conference participation. Thus, it appears that many of the techniques described in the literature for denying access to socialization to organizational norms and values are supported by the experiences interviewees describe.

Four of five of the women interviewed had attended all girl schools where, as one expressed it, they learned that, "If something had to be done, it was done by a female. We never learned that stupidity pays or anything like that". The men report having been active in student government and/or team sports in school. Both all girl schools for females seem to influence leadership later in life.

Interviewees were asked questions on how they had built a successful career and what advice they had for others wanting to follow in their footsteps. Women and visible minorities expect that they will have to work very hard to succeed and that their credentials will have to be impeccable. Asplund (1988) notes that women place a high value on education and training, perhaps too much. She seems to suggest that there is an over emphasis on this to the exclusion of the informal learning

acquired in social activities. Whether this is by choice or necessity is not clear. It may be that education and training are areas over which they feel they have some control unlike the social side of organizational life. A number of women comment on the fact that women do not seem to recognize the need to market themselves, assuming that the work speaks for itself. One says, "Men are better at getting noticed, at bragging, at promoting themselves." Another says, "Part of the skill women have is making it all look so easy, managing a job and a home. That works against women when their performance is compared to that of males who are more skilled in self promotion".

One visible minority woman interviewed describes the requirements for success as follows;

> First of all, I felt that I had to be a Canadian. I think that the real issue for me is that if I would not be a Canadian, if I did not become a Canadian I would not have any chance. The second thing I saw, I had to be totally involved with the community. I had to be visible, not a self promoting kind of visible but part of the action. And the third thing I noticed was if my qualifications did not measure up or did not excel the next person's, my chances would be limited.

Fernandez (1981) quotes a black male who says, "I cannot afford to be average or to meet the minimum requirements for a position" and a white middle manager who says, "Most minorities are superminorities - mediocrity is the privilege of the white male" (p.62). These views are echoed by a number of interviewees. A visible minority interviewee describes advice she was given by a fellow teacher as follows; "The first person who helped me was when I was in the first school. One of the teachers told me that to survive in the Catholic school system you have to have certain qualities. . . For example, the commitment. If everybody starts at 7 o'clock, come at 6:45. If everybody leaves at 4:00, you leave at 4:15. And if something falls, you be the first one to rush to the rescue.". Later in the interview she says, "I had to have a little bit more than the average person to show that I could do it."

The energy level of some of those interviewed is phenomenal. One says, "I'll tell you honestly, I can do without sleep for about 18 hours and I can sleep 4 hours and I'm fine. . . . And I run around, I run a lot". Several women interviewed express an impatience with pomp and pageantry, "circular thinking", and games. They often say that they just have no time

for games and they may mean this literally. As one woman suggests, women, especially those with families, have to pack so much into every day that they have to be direct and efficient in their use of time. As a result they may express impatience with a meeting which takes 45 minutes but which they think could have been completed in 15. This directness may be misunderstood by some employees, however, who see such behavior as too brusque and, perhaps, not feminine enough to suit them.

Appearance continues to be important for women, "And one thing about the self perception of women, I think if they have allowed themselves to grow out of shape I think that's bad. So I always remember to be able to look like a professional." However, she continues, "I think that if you are dressed neatly, you don't really have to dress [for success]". A white woman however, describes being advised by a male colleague to wear a suit for an upcoming competition interview. Other visible minority women describe the pressure they feel to always look attractive in a traditionally defined definition of beauty and the risks that accompany assertive behavior. Assertiveness, appears to be a problem for women in general, but more so for many visible minority women. Another woman describes having been told that it was alright for her to be assertive but not "pushy". The problem with this is that there seems to be a very fine line between assertiveness and pushiness for women and minorities (Lips, 1981). That is, behaviors which might be quite acceptable if engaged in by a white male, tend to be seen as inappropriate when engaged in by women or minorities.

One woman describes a former principal, a young man new to the region, as someone who gave her added responsibilities and thus contributed to her positive visibility for her in the system after she had performed particularly well on an assignment. As she describes it, "The principal was a young man, you know, in his first job as a principal. . . A Canadian man who was very energetic. He recognized me for the . . skills that I had . . . and he began to give me all kinds of other responsibilities apart from teaching." Timing may have been critical in this situation. As someone new to his position and someone who was a newcomer to the organization himself, her principal may have recognized that an employee who was trying so hard and who was so energetic could help him make his mark on the system and would probably become a loyal ally. It may therefore have been in his interests to provide her with opportunities to shine.

Women, both white and visible minority, are more likely to use humour in dealing with racist or sexist experiences. Several women principals interviewed describe how they used humour to handle such experiences as being mistaken for the school secretary and being isolated by in-jokes. Kanter (1977a) refers to this experience as status leveling. As one said, "when you're first seen in the office they assume you're the secretary. And seeing them do a double take, that was always fun". White women are more likely to be mistaken for a secretary when there is a man in the office, black women if there is a white female or a white or black male present.

Almost all those interviewed, both male and female, stress the importance of being positive, of not complaining. One woman describes advising a young colleague to smile and to avoid complaining in order to get ahead. As she expresses it, "I say, 'Smile. Even if you bitch afterwards or pound the wall, take it'". This does not mean that they do not challenge injustice but, as one said, you pick your times to go to war. Both women and minorities express impatience at the slowness with which change is occurring. While women, for example, used to fear a white male backlash and many probably still, some women are prepared to accept it. As they express it, "The backlash is worth taking in order to get women there", "It's an occupational hazard", and,"It just goes with the territory".

This very preliminary analysis suggests that there are some differences in the ways in which white males and women and minorities experience organizational life and that these differences may have a significant impact on career outcomes.

OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE

Overall the women and visible minority administrators interviewed so far, while recognizing that there are significant barriers to their building a career, remain surprisingly optimistic. Part of the explanation for this may relate to the fact that these individuals have already experienced some success in reaching middle management.

Bancroft et al. (1988) in reporting on a focus group note that there was a perception that opportunity comes your way only after you have been deemed to have paid your dues and is based on the concept that "you-don't-rock-the-boat", that is, your conformability (p.115). Fernandez (1981) discusses this pressure to conform in the corporate world, seeing it as one of the areas which contemporary employees find increasingly stressful. Bancroft et al. comment on the time factor associated with participation as follows: "The ideology of ethnic succession has a strong hold on Canadian policy makers; they feel the turn of racial minorities will come in time. On the other hand, the racial minorities attach no historical time frame to human rights; they want equality now." (p.2). A number of interviewees allude to this time factor. One visible minority woman said that her grandfather, if asked, might think that there has been a lot of change or progress but from her perspective there has been too little. A number of visible minorities expressed impatience that change has been so slow in coming. 1990 seems to be a turning point for some. Perhaps the beginning of a decade encourages people to pause to take stock and they are not happy with what they see.

Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986) describe the concerns that some women leaders have about entitlement, having concerns that others may think they do not deserve or merit the position. This comes out in interviews with both women and visible minorities. They do not want to be seen as affirmative action appointees. One in discussing quotas said, "You know, we have to fight that. . . .I have a lot of trouble (with quotas) because I think I got my job because of merit." She goes on to say that at one time she wondered if she had gotten her job "because they had to be seen to put a woman in the job", but that "If somebody thought that way they shouldn't because this is a job". Clearly some colleagues express that view, to explain why they, themselves, did not get a promotion. Frierson (1990) and Moses (1989) are among researchers who discuss the stigma of being perceived as an affirmative action candidate and the effect this can have on the self confidence of women and minorities who continually see their contributions devalued in this way.

While some visible minority interviewees report trying to discourage their sons from choosing education as a career, they tend to see education as offering special opportunities for their daughters. As one woman expressed it, her daughter and her daughter's friends felt that because she "could make it in education", it might be a good choice for them. She said, "And I'm talking about minority young women. They feel that education probably is an easier field."

Visible minority males appear to be more sympathetic toward the situation of women in the workplace than are white males. Fernandez (1981) reports that black minority males have experienced more racism than any other group and are the most sensitive and empathetic of all minority males to the plight of minority managers" while lighter skinned Hispanics seem to be less empathetic than darker skinned Hispanics (p.19). White males interviewed tend to have a low level of awareness or understanding of the barriers experienced by women. Several of those who had such an awareness, were aware but in a distant sort of way. Like a country they had read about but never visited, they seem to believe that barriers exist but they do not have a very clear idea of what those barriers are or how they function to limit women's opportunities. Men with daughters seem more likely to have given some thought to these issues. Visible minority men, on the other hand, are both more aware and more understanding than white men. This is a somewhat unexpected finding since other researchers had suggested in informal discussions just as this study was about to commence, that visible minority males would believe that women had had their turn and that it was now theirs. One is reminded of a comment made about Georg Simmel, that as a Jew living in pre-war Germany, he was a marginal person himself and could, as a result, better understand the experiences of other marginal people in society, including women (Kandall, 1988).

Several women give examples of the importance for them of the extended family and for minority women immigrants, the extended family can be especially important. Having left many of their support systems behind in the country of origin, they benefit from the emotional and economic support of an extended family. One woman whose parents cared for her child while she worked describes the benefits as never having to look for money to hire a babysitter and feeling sure the child is well cared for.

An unexpected finding has been that most respondents deny having experienced discrimination, despite describing early career experiences that other people might see as clearly discriminatory. Why do they not

define these experiences as discriminatory? It may relate to the fact that the participants in this study are already managers. These are the success stories, the people who have made it. Perhaps, one factor that contributed to their success was a capacity to ignore the negatives which could have eroded their self confidence. Perhaps there is an unwritten rule in organizations that naming sexism or racism or appealing to the various bodies created to provide fair and equal treatment may give one the reputation of a troublemaker and these people detected or sensed that early. Another explanation may be that as tokens they were determined not to "rock the boat" in any way.

There appears to be a tendency in some women and minorities to accept the blame or responsibility for what happens to them rather than seeing the system as being at fault. One visible minority man describes white women as more likely to do this than minorities. His reasoning is that most white women have never experienced as much rejection and oppression as racial minorities have so tend to assume that they, not the system, are at fault in some way. If you have grown up with racism and survived, he reasons, you recognize that there are other factors which can influence your success. As women's experiences in the workplace are better documented, their stories shared, they, too, may develop a better understanding of the dynamics involved and how these can limit their opportunities

Role models are more often described as relating to the success of both women and minorities than are mentors. Clearly mentors are seen as contributing to success, but the literature suggests that both women and visible minorities have more difficulty in obtaining mentors. Anyone, however, can choose a role model. As one focus group member says, you are in control when you choose a role model while you have to wait for a mentor to notice and select you. While white male managers could describe incidences in their careers when they were "tapped on the shoulder", this is much less likely to happen to women or visible minorities, both of whom tended to be proactive and persistent. There are no shortcuts for the latter two groups and they seem to know that they should not expect any.

Several of those interviewed who had held a range of positions early in their careers and so had had an opportunity for extensive organizational socialization were particularly confident in coping with a crisis. As one woman says, "I mean, I just knew I wasn't going to do something that wasn't legitimate within the system.. . . And I knew the system well enough to say, Oh, hey, I know what's going on out there' "

While this study is not yet complete, there appears to be some support for the view that, as Kanter and Ortiz have suggested, women and minorities are seen as tokens and are treated differently from white males as a result.

THE FUTURE

Ferguson (1980) cautions against mistaking "the trappings and symbols of transformation" (P.21) for the real thing and warns of the risks of being co-opted, trivialized and exploited. Form must not be mistaken for substance, she argues. Hopefully, an awareness of some of the barriers experienced by the pioneers who are the subjects of this research can help those who follow to avoid some of the more obvious pitfalls. There is a need for more documentation on successful women and visible minorities of the type described by Lubin (1987) or Low (1989), but these people should not be treated as exceptional. Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986) point out that the media, by treating women leaders as so exceptional, reduce the possibility that such women will serve as role models for others or that others will benefit from their experiences. Low sees the need for career women to do more sharing of experiences, of "their stories ". She believes that it would serve several purposes, contributing to "the social construction of success for women", helping women to know how to take failure in their stride, and to see that "failure must never be seen as public confirmation of their supposed innate inadequacies" (Low, 1989, p.11). It would also create awareness of, and expose myths harmful to women (e.g. that they lack motivation and have no career commitment). This is very important because, as Low says, "these myths are so powerful and pervasive".

Another "fact" or "myth" which this study appears to challenge is the view that women and racial minorities do not support one other. A number of interviewees report that they often find their strongest support in other women and minorities. It appears that their networks may operate somewhat differently from male leaders' networks, providing them with much needed emotional or moral support rather than business and informational contacts.

In the course of gathering data for this study there have been a number of occasions for discussing some of the issues under study with young visible minorities who are still relatively new to the work world. One cannot help being struck by the view expressed by some of these people that if visible minority workers experienced racism in the past,

racism no longer exists for those who are qualified and who try hard enough to integrate. This view seems similar to that expressed by a young female who recently received a lot of media attention when she wrote that feminism was dead (Crittenden, 1990). Her message seemed to be that while feminism may have served a purpose for a generation of women before her, her generation does not need it. If the literature on building a career is accurate about the importance of the first three to five years of work experience, these young workers may well lose valuable time. Assuming that racism and sexism no longer exist in the workplace or that those who experienced problems just did not try hard enough to fit in, blaming the victim, may blind them to the forms racism and sexism can take in work organizations. Fernandez (1981) points out that because both have taken on more subtle forms, what he describes as "neoracism" and "neosexism", their existence and potential for harm may be ignored or overlooked. What is interesting is that these views exist at a time when many human rights experts see evidence of a growing intolerance in Canadian society.

Employment equity and affirmative action must not be seen as women's or minorities' issues. Defining them as such puts the solution to the problem solely on the victims when the issues are societal ones. What is the cost to society of such a limited view? Allowing people to blind themselves to inequality in one aspect of their work life, especially if it involves over half the work force, may increase their tolerance for injustice, generally. A convincing argument can be made that maintaining structures which serve as barriers to some groups such as women and minorities has human as well as economic costs for society as a whole. As Burke (1990) reports, racism can have a negative effect on the morale of workers who are not even its targets. That may well take an economic toll on a company.

With the increase in efforts to provide employment equity, there is a clear need for more theoretical work to underpin empirical studies to provide a framework for understanding these issues across organizations and employee types. While the quality of the research on women and minorities in organizations, particularly in the management of those organizations, is steadily improving, the need still exists to replace the myths, folklore and quick-fix techniques which continue to significantly influence the research and popular literature on the subject with facts derived from sound empirical research. Until that happens, meaningful change will continue to be slow.

As Greenberg (1990), expresses it we also "need to get smart on how to deal with deficiencies in the system." Hopefully, as this study progresses it will provide some useful insights into some of those deficiencies and how they function to exclude members of some groups.

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